2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony. 769 775 [765] [614]

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes. 756 775 753 [562]

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted. 756 174

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east. 773 [171] [775]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

773 Sun (Meri) and Moon (Ari) are another pair of brothers, but figure largely as tricksters. Thus they put out the Indians' fire, which, however, is salvaged by a toad. The Indians pursue the mischief-makers, who climb trees, and kill Moon, who has sought refuge in a low tree and is eaten by a canid. Sun kills the canid and resuscitates Moon from fragments of his bones. This revival motif recurs in different contexts. In one game Moon kills Sun, but cannot restore him. However, Sun rises by his own power and turns into a red arara. Moon vainly looks for him and nearly starves, when Sun transforms himself into a fish, letting Moon harpoon him. Finally, Sun and Moon neglect the Buriti clansmen's warning, and break their hosts' bottles. They are pursued, caught, and blown skyward by their captors, who bid them remain above.

Other myths describe a flood caused by an angry spirit and the jaguar's swallowing of a monkey, who cuts his way out. In one tale boys climb to the sky on a rope, which they cut in order to prevent their mothers from following. As a penalty the boys must remain in the sky, their eyes becoming the stars.

773 171 The ascent to the sky by a rope or creeper is widespread in South America, being found, e. g., among the *Cariban Taulipang*. In the Twin story, the pacification of the jaguar by the offer of a woman, her death through an older kinsman of the husband, the post-mortem extraction of the heroes, and their revenging the woman's death recall *Guarani* motifs, as well as the *Bacaïri* tale of Keri and Kame. On the other hand, these *Bacaïri* names and their linkage with Sun and Moon, respectively, rather suggest the second *Bororo* myth of a pair of brothers.

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113 Baldus, 1936; Caldas, 1800, 1903; Chamberlain, 1910, 1912; Colbacchini, 1925; Cook, 1907; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913; Frič and Radin, 1906; Koslowsky, 1895 b; Lévi-Strauss, 1936; Magalhães, 1918; Missão Salesiana, 1908; Petrullo, 1932; Steinen, 1894; Tonelli, 1927, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1928 c; Waehneldt, 1884.

[complete bibliography not processed]

string patterns, similar to the decoration found on the surface potsherds already described. M B 172

Unit H

This was located about one and one-half metres away from G, and at the same level. It consisted of a well-preserved adult skeleton of large proportions, lying on its right side, the knees drawn up to a sitting posture, the lower legs flexed on the thighs. The skull could not be located. No pottery or any kind of ornaments were associated with it; but it did present a new feature in that at its back was found a cache of piranha jaws and teeth. The body lay in an east to west line.

Unit I

A number of burials were uncovered about a metre away from H and to its right. They conformed to the general type. Four pottery bowls, badly damaged, covered skeletons, one of which occupied an extended position on its back. The other skeletons were so damaged and so mixed that little information could be gotten. There was total absence of any ornaments, but the shells described above were also associated with this group. The bone material was that of children.

In addition to the above finds there were recovered from accidental excavations nearby a skull minus the lower mandible and a skull cap. They have not been studied as yet.

* * * *

Lacking any geological data on which to base an estimate of its antiquity, it is significant that no artefacts of European origin were found in the excavation.

Though most of the skeletal remains were those of children, it cannot be inferred that the site is a child cemetery, when it is remembered that infant mortality is especially high among primitive peoples.

The method of burial for children seems to have been a simple interment protected by pottery. Ornaments such as the children wore were placed with the bodies.

Of these ornaments, the perforated shell discs are still very common among the tribes of the upper Xingu which were visited later, but were not found either among the Bororo da Campanha or the Bororo of the B [171 301]

[text continues on p. 115]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
MATO GROSSO SP1

São Lorenço valley. The mussel shell beads and the cylindrical jasper kind are not to be found among the Bororo or those groups mentioned above.

The method of burial of the Bororo is radically different from what was revealed in this excavation, leaving no doubt that the cemetery must antedate the occupation of the territory by these people.

The piranha is associated in magico-religious concepts of the tribes of the Kuluseu-Kuluene region. Its jaws and teeth find practical application by all of the aborigines, being used as scrapers, or cutters. The cache of piranha jaws and teeth thus becomes meaningful.

The body was not buried always in the same position. The site revealed that it was placed sometimes on the side, and sometimes on the back, with the legs flexed at various degrees.

All of the burials were unquestionably primary, judging from the articulating position of the bones. No marks of any kind were found on the skeletal material.

The pottery is of poor quality, being of coarse clay and badly fired. The decoration that was found on several potsherds and on one small pot was impressed string pattern. The pottery ware is different from that made by the Bororo.

The lithic industry is too poorly represented to permit any conclusions. What was found is polished, and badly made. Its scarcity suggests that it was not a major industry in the culture represented. However, the stone, if not the artefacts, must have been imported from the highlands of the west or the north, since there is no stone in the region.

CEMETERY II

[Plate VIII, 1, 2]

About five miles to the west of Cemetery I, and the port of Descavallos, is located Cemetery II, part of an extensive archaeological site whose limits have not been determined. The land is slightly elevated from the rest of the pantanal, so that during the floods it forms an island, but at the height of the dry season it remains partly surrounded by a large lagoon which is connected with the Paraguay only by marshes. When the water is high it can be reached by canoe from the Paraguay. It constitutes an ideal location for a native village, in that it is situated in the pantanal where game is plentiful, it is close to the river, though hidden

SP8 Bororo SP8 ●
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

is ever lost. Our Bakairi were imbued with the same spirit, for often the paddle would be dropped and replaced with bow and arrow though we may not have needed the extra food. This anxiety to gather as much food as is encountered was also manifested in the case of turtle eggs found in the sand banks. For those days that we travelled, each canoe at the end of the day would have gathered at least thirty or forty eggs. This food was shared generously with everyone. [Plate XIII, 2.]

Another method of fishing was with a spear. Especially in the dry season, the fish withdraw to the deep pools where it is impossible to reach them with an arrow. A spear is usually made of two sections: a wooden shaft with a large conical bone point and a reed extension to the shaft. Both sections measure about seven metres in length. [Plate XIII, 1.]

Damming of the lagoons is resorted to. A dip net with a handle about three metres long is in use, and drag nets are apparently used in season.

Fish is eaten almost raw; the only method of cooking seen was barbecuing, either by placing it on a platform over a fire or by placing it on a framework close to the fire. Salt is unknown and not liked, as evidenced when they were asked to try our food, when though hungry, none would accept it if it had been seasoned with salt.

Another food in usage, highly prized and carefully stored away is the fruit piki, which grows wild. The fruit is boiled in the large earthen pots, placed in cylindrical bark containers, about one and half metres to two metres in length and a third of a metre in diameter, sealed tight at both ends, and placed under water in some cool pool. These bark containers are reinforced with wooden slats. On ceremonial occasions they are opened and a quantity sufficient for the immediate needs is taken out to be distributed to every member of the village equally. It is mixed with water and drunk, without fermentation. Both the Yawalapiti and Naravute had these bark containers.

Pottery

Pottery is poorly developed in the region. Neither in quantity nor variety, nor in technical perfertion does it compare with that of the Bororo. The forms are simple though characteristic.

[text continues on p. 155]

Y Ba 226 105 171 [222]
Y [411]
Y [227]
Y 105 171 252 [263]
Y 105 171 251 415
Y Bo 105 171 ● 323

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
483 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier, /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only
clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
[171] the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live
every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous im-
pediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.
847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not
yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and
especially of the future mother herself. If, for example,
the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune
in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epi-
demics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered
the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately
after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe,
which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the
newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not
reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is
in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can
only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the
women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Bororos, Rio
de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

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846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order [825] to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

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614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

/139 cont./

121 One cannot say, generalizing, that the sex that does the heavier and economically more valuable work has a position superior or inferior to the other one. Also, many times, it is not possible to decide which is the heavier
462 or economically more valuable work. Thus, Karl von den
222 Steinen (o.c., p. 490) says of the Bororo that among them, "in spite of all the hunting, the vegetable food sought by the women has greater importance because it is obtained with more regularity and in abundance. The women look for roots by means of a sharpened stick, climb with great agility the palm trees among which the oaussú and the acurí have preference, collect the nuts, cut out in the top the 'palm cabbage,' look for fruits of the jatobá /locust tree/ and of the piquí, /Caryocar brasiliense/, etc."

462 The men's typical tasks are, among the Indians,
[224] hunting, cutting and carving wood, and the building of the house. Yet there are exceptions with regard to these tasks too: in some tribes the woman accompanies the man in hunting, even, in certain cases, shooting with the bow; in other tribes, for example among the Bororo, she cuts certain trees in order to obtain palm nuts and honey; in
462 many she also helps in the construction of the house. But,
141 considering this general division of labor, we might, perhaps, be led to suppose, at first sight, that the woman would want to get rid of the heavier tasks, since, among /140/ most of the Indians, she is on the average smaller (3)

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3. In contrast let there be indicated the following tribes described by Barbosa Rodrigues (v. E. Roquette-Pinto, Rondonia, 3rd. ed., São Paulo, 1935, p. 196): "Tembés -- Male stature, in general, shorter than the female. Women tall and thin; men short and fat. Mundurucús -- They are muscular. Men shorter than the

/140 cont./

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being
462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi-
482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads
[434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

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It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat.
[241] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in
[171] the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[286] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[71] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

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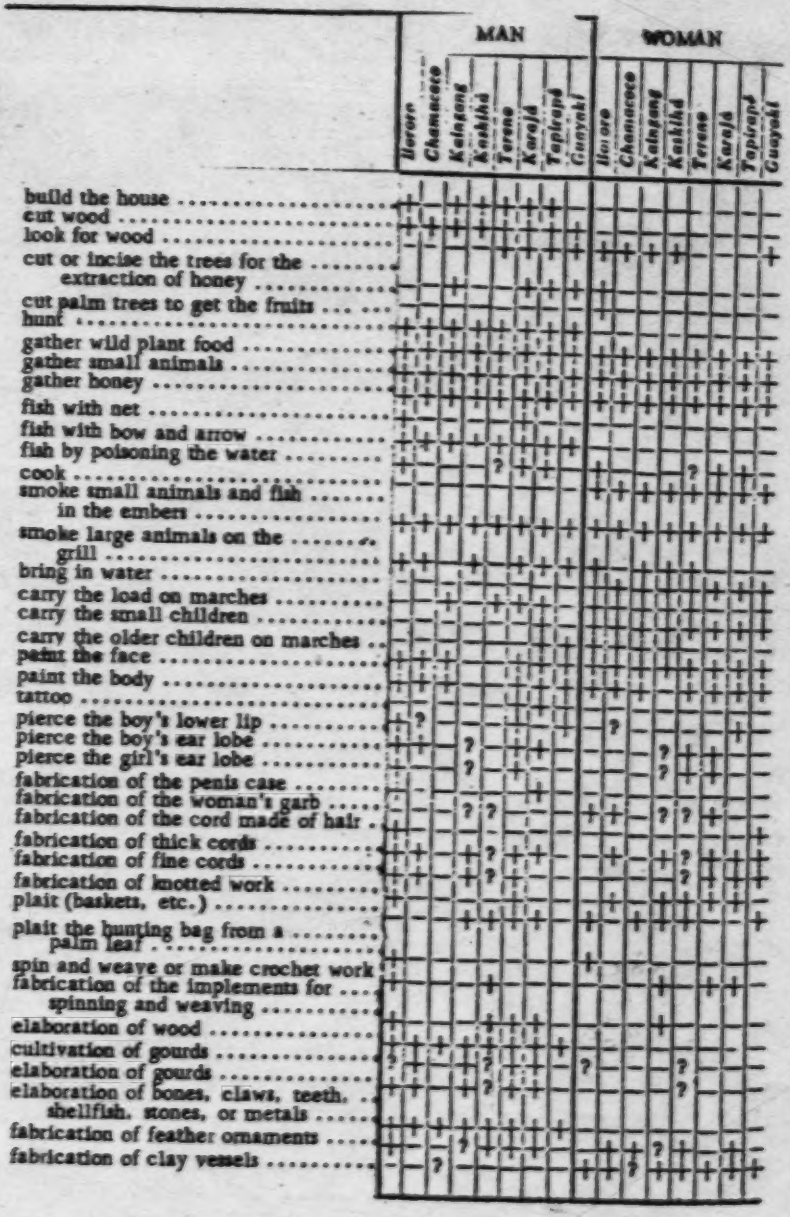
DIVISION OF LABOR



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833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

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562 224 833 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 173 [224] Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 833 173 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 839 171 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes visited by me.

/150 cont./

• 171 562 The differences in character of the individuals are no fewer in an Indian aldeia than in one of our aldeias; and there, too, the very pronounced characters open the road, in marriage, through the /151/ social rules. Among the Guató, whom Couto de Magalhães (O selvagem /the Savage/, 3rd. edition, São Paulo, 1935, p. 148) calls "an exaggerated type of the man's rights over the woman," Julio Koslowsky ("Tres semanas entre los indios Guatos /Three weeks among the Guato Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895, p. 232) found a man about whom, after having praised his extraordinary intelligence, he mentions /the following quotation has been translated from the Spanish/: "The only thing that I had to disapprove was the complete submission that he demonstrated toward his wife."

Such examples are found in every tribe of Indians. Among the Tapirapé I saw men who ordered and mistreated the woman, and others who fled from the hut with his plumes when the enraged wife threatened to throw these ornaments in the fire. Among the Karajá there are men who, in a moment of anger, thrashed the woman terribly, and who, in spite of that, in all the important matters, submits to her unconditionally. Karl von den Steinen says, although generalizing, of the Indians of the Xingú region (o.c., p. 332): "The man let the woman carry a heavier load than he did, he ordered her to remain far from the house of the flutes in which the men consulted, smoked, held festivities, and where the men were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and did what she wanted."

562 One day an old lay brother in Sangradouro, who had spent all his life with the Bororo, explained to me, in an ingenuous way, the behavior of this tribe in such situations: "Generally it is the man who commands; but /152/ when one of them is very good to the woman, it is

/154 cont./
301 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this
562 decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care.
[23] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment"
[836] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of
[593] the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both
[171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first
[171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting
[613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the

/156 cont./

301 other sex or to his own or shows him superior to the other
562 sex or to his own can only be answered in facing this or that particular case. Thus, this answer has only individual-psychological value, and not general value, concerning the significance of the adornment for the position of the sexes.

562 Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 497) writes that among
201 the Indians "it is proper for the woman to cry and 'to tremble' always, when animals, enemies, or merely cataracts threaten, and always to need protection."

I confirmed in my experiences that this is true in general; and when it is observed that the woman, in anger and in fear, utters sharp cries or moans, while the man almost always tries in any case to preserve a more tranquil dignity, we are inclined to see in this behavior a superiority of the man. And even if the cause for the woman's behavior is only her intention "to win by means of weakness" in the relations between the sexes, that seems to us an indication of social inferiority.

000 In the majority of the native tribes the men even want the women to show fear, and certain dances are performed for this purpose. According to Wilhelm Koppers (Unter Feuerlandindianern /Among Fuegian Indians/, Stuttgart, 1924), the Indians in Tierra del Fuego narrate that in ancient times they were completely dominated by the woman, because the latter had joined together in secret leagues and performed rites thanks to which they kept the men in /157/ permanent fear. But one day the men discovered this stratagem and then did the same with the woman; and since that time the latter have been intimidated
• [171] by means of practices of sorcery and dances. In the dances of the Ināpēsē of the Chamacoco in the Chaco (Baldus, Indianerstudien, p. 94), what the men want, by means of their mysterious and frightening tricks, is to protest against the power of the women.

/158 cont./

764 As Tiago Aipobureu told me, there exists even today
[462] the custom that the women prepare the food for the
[252] funeral feasts, which is taken by the lads to the men's house, completely closed, and consumed there by those present. According to the tribal tradition, the dead one also participates in this banquet. But the sincere Tiago Aipobureu added: "The women know, however, what really happens there, although they pretend not to know. There are always men who tell them everything."

796 Both sexes of the Bororo take part in the majority of
562 the songs and dances; it is true, however, that on these
273 occasions the female sex always has a secondary role. According to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 491), men and women get drunk without distinction, with the wine obtained from the acuri palm.

562 /159/ The position of the sexes is also evident on the
765 occasion of death. As among almost all the tribes of eastern
171 South America, among the Bororo too the closer relatives
603 of the dead man of woman, especially the widower or widow,
302 cut the hair.

765 The following passages of the account by Karl von den
[307] Steinen are characteristic of the behavior of a widower (o.c., p. 505).: "Coqueiro in his hut, made cuts on his arms and legs, which became covered with scabs of coagulated blood; and in the afternoon there took place the solemn destruction of the goods of the dead woman, said better, the goods of her family, which had lived in the same hut as she. -- After this (o.c., p. 508): "Coqueiro arrived with a child by the hand. He sat down silently at the side,
[301] he sobbed and wept. He did not have any adornment besides the black rope around his body, which he had spun and interwoven out of his wife's hair. His cheeks were wet with tears; he pressed his eyes as if the weeping were painful." -- And finally (o.c., p. 510): "Coqueiro
[431] remained with nothing. The friends made bow and arrows, presenting them to him."

/160 cont./

of their people, and this one then becomes bari. Nobody knows ahead of time who will become bari. Two persons might become bari at the /161/ same time and in the same way, and both men and women.

Doctor-sorceresses are very rare among the primitive peoples of South America. The Tapirapé had a female pantché and they killed her as the supposed cause of misfortunes.

In another place (Herbert Baldus: "Die Allmutter in der Mythologie zweier südamerikanischer Indianerstämme /The All-mother in the Mythology of two South American Indian tribes/" Archiv Für Religionswissenschaft XXIX, Leipzig, 1932; French translation by Dr. A. Métraux in the Revista del Instituto de Etnología, II, Tucumán, 1932), I tried to demonstrate how the social organizations among tribes of South American Indians are reflected in their mythology. Among the Bororo we found two "origin myths" (Ursprungs-mythen), whose elements are quite widespread on this continent. A girl from the tribe marries a jaguar. She dies and from her body are taken twins, who, appear, later as the civilizing heroes and the ancestors of the tribe. In this myth, consequently, there appears the figure of a "primary mother" (Urmutter; Baldus, o.c.) as we find her, in the majority of cases, among peoples of matrilocal, and many times also matrilineal organization. It is true that she sometimes exists today along with a patrilocal and patrilineal organization; but, concerning this, we must first consider that many myths make great migrations and are, many times, with the greatest facility, incorporated in the mythology of a tribe; and, in the second place, that the /162/ social forms are not

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagareda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning: and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 • 191 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the BO [531] left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*171 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

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302 As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
291 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
291 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

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/243 cont./ one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me. To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe

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that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may perhaps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly

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natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for drawing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They

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were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing, but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

B /248 cont./
*171 circular area. My companions, two Bakaïrí, immediately sat
212 down to rest. I do not know whether a weary wanderer before us
532 who stopped there on his way home from the river so neatly drew the two animals purely for diversion, or because he had just dealt with rays and pakŭs, and, frankly, I find it quite immaterial whether the one or the other was the case.

Even more inexplicable as to its exact meaning was the circular figure drawn in the sand, which is shown in Figure 36 and which was found under a beautiful tree approximately half a kilometer from the Mehinakŭ village. It was called aturuá
B and was four and a half meters in diameter. When we left the
[533] village accompanied by several men, they made a round inside the circle on either side up to very near the network and sang ka ā ā...; there were also numerous traces of former rounds. Since the men wanted to turn back at this point and spoke of the women, there was probably some reference to the arrival or departure of guests here on the edge of the forest or a quarter of an hour from home. The network of the drawing was turned toward the village. The two curves occur similarly as tattoo patterns and on the outside on the bottom of the large pots of the Mehinakŭ (cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/). I had copied the figure in my journal a few days before my cousin saw it; there, in place of the small central circle with the two supports, two circles are represented touching each other, the lower one being slightly larger and going over into the network; one might imagine head and body.

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• 171 The Bororó, whom I am including here, contributed not only
532 purely explanatory, but even semi-artistic pictures in the sand, which we /Plates XVI-XIX appear here/ /249/ had no opportunity to see on the Schingú. In the evening in the moonlight they took special pleasure in drawing hunting animals and hunting scenes in the sand for us. I say "scenes," for their amateurishness did not by any means shrink from a difficult composition. Nor were they content to draw in outlines; with their hands they shoveled the surface sand out of the outline of the animal being represented and filled this depression, shaped, for example, like a jaguar or a tapir, with grayish-white ashes; thus they made the body with its

[Text Continues on P. 269]

BO /249 cont./
171 extremities look like a shimmering whitish painting. The eye and
532 the spotted markings of the skin were indicated with dark sand. Since the figures were at least life-sized, they gave a surprisingly lifelike impression in the evening twilight; it looked as though huge, shimmering and glistening skins were spread out on the ground.

B Pencil drawings. Even in 1884 we let the Suyá draw with
* 171 pencil in our notebooks. They themselves were amused by it;
532 they were not awkward, and only at first did they superfluously
BO hold the pencil point into the flame, being accustomed, for their
171 part, to drawing with resin-saturated sticks. They drew rhombus-
532 shaped designs, similar to those on their gourd bowls, which at that time I dismissed with the label "geometric figures." This time
B we had them draw a series of persons and objects which turned out
BO [126] to be extremely instructive. On the four plates, 16-19 /see pp. 265-268/, these artistic productions, which could still be considerably improved, have been reproduced with painful accuracy; there are portraits of the members of the expedition, especially of me, and furthermore two jaguars and a woman's triangle with the accompanying topography done by Kulisehu Indians, as well as a soldier, a woman, a pipe, a whizzer stick, two jaguars, a tapir pursued by a dog, a monkey, a hummingbird, and three turtles by the Bororó. The animal pictures of the Bororó, like the sand drawings covered with ashes, are filled with black inside the outline and show that these artists already had higher aspirations, although in their sparse ornamentation they did not achieve more than is shown by the whizzer stick.

000 At first the pencil drawings vividly remind one of the pictures in the copybook of little Moritz. In fact, in the interesting little book by Corrado Ricci, l'arte dei bambini /The Art of Children/, Bologna, 1887, which reports on studies of many children's drawings, there are many correspondences, and more than the author himself assumes when he considers the drawings of primitive peoples. Children describe a human being, instead of reproducing him artistically, "just as they would describe him with words." In their first attempts they are satisfied with the most

B /250 cont./
*171 On plate I from the Kulisehu,[1] four members of the expedition
532 are standing side by side, a picture from the third Bakaírí village. In it I am recognizable as the tallest and the one with the longest beard; the second one, my cousin, is characterized by his jaunty little cap, the third is Ehrenreich with a shorter full beard and next to me in body size; the fourth, quite small and delicate, is Lieutenant Perrot to whom a lower rank was imputed because he did not take part in the investigations. Here, as well as with most of the drawings, I performed the test of showing them afterwards to other Indians with the question, who might that be? They identified the persons correctly, hopefully not because of the
BO resemblance, but according to the outstanding characteristics.
171 Actually the turtles and the tapir of the Bororó (Bororó II) are
532 quite satisfactory, even for our requirements, whereas the pursuing dog was probably recognizable only because he was the four-legged animal running behind the tapir, which could not be a second tapir because of the tail and the absence of a trunk. Inference per exclusionem must often help out.

B /251/ The two likenesses of me done by a Nahuquá (Kulisehu
*171 II) are interesting.[2] Strangely enough, the man first drew a hori-
532 zontal line containing the unbroken shoulder line and the upper arms, put a sort of semicircle on this, two diagonal crossed lines underneath, and handed this worthless picture back to me as finished. I protested, pointing out to him that I was provided with eyes, ears, etc., in the normal fashion, and demanded an entirely new, revised edition, which he, looking me over attentively, then made. He now went to the other extreme and drew, not only more than he saw, but more than he could have seen.

BO In similar contrast are the two upper pictures on the Bororó
171 plate I, drawn by two different people: on the right I was born
532 without arms and feet; on the left I appear most lovingly depicted and equipped. Here, besides all my limbs, including -- as likewise in the case of the Indian woman on Bororó II -- knobby joints, I have: cap, pipe, notebook, belt, and shoes. In the same manner, the jolly little fellow below that, my cousin, was

[1] [See p. 265 -- Analyst]
[2] [See p. 266 -- Analyst]

/251 cont./

BO 171 532 given cap, pipe, and the fine hunting knife. Children, to whom smoking as such seems strange, would have thick smoke coming out of the pipe, but the Indians are interested only in the apparatus. In the corner on the right, the Brazilian soldier was given a uniform with three buttons, that is to say, only the coat, from which emerge the usual lines for arms without sleeves. The armless figure above it is the only one where an attempt was made to do justice to our trousers, even at the expense of the feet.

B * 171 532 831 The chief attribute of the men, especially in the externally more meagerly equipped portraits on Kulisehu I and II, is the one conferred on them by nature. Here we have the child's standpoint altogether, namely, that it does not matter to the sketcher whether he sees with his eyes what he feels duty-bound to indicate because he knows it is there. For the Indian who goes unclothed, this is the characteristic feature and so he shows it; he even adds it where he expressly draws the clothing, cf. the soldier. Thus, the navel is also often taken into consideration. Indeed, the Nahuquá from whom I demanded completeness (Kulisehu II) did not want to forget even the anus.

B * 171 532 BO 171 532 The spatial arrangement is not quite a secondary to the Indians as it is to the youngest children, but strange things are done with it. The fact that the pipe (Borcró I) is put next to the mouth does not mean anything when in the same picture one sees the mustache above the eyes. I would have declared it to be a pair of joined eyebrows, what Goethe calls Räzel, but I was emphatically informed that the line represents the mustache. The same is true of the small central figure below it. And the Bakaïrí do the same thing with the unfamiliar mustache. On the Kulisehu plate II, lower left, we see the mustache below the cap, which is carelessly cut off from the roundness of the head by a cross line, and the chin beard, separated from it by a large nose, /252/ is kept entirely inside the face. This head is precisely my map of Africa, with the lakes imperturbably put north or south of the Congo and the Nile sources; out of all proportion, the dreadful line of the neck looks like my Isthmus of Suez, and the

2: Steinen--273 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Bororo SP8

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enormous ear flaps, like my Island of Zanzibar. And after I heard from a high-ranking German official that Brazil and Rio de Janeiro are located on the west side of the continent, on the Pacific Ocean, I am perfectly content to have the Bakaïrí, cf. Kulisehu plate I, put the mustaches of Herren Ehrenreich and Perrot on top of their heads. In these two instances the mustache was put in afterwards. The Indians themselves pluck out all the beard hair, and no matter where the beard hair is located, they differentiate hanging and transverse beard-hair according to their first impression, without giving a more accurate account; they reproduce the former, if they do not draw the hairs separately in great numbers (cf. Bororó I and the Nahuquá drawing, Kulisehu II), by a curved line open at the top, the latter by a curved line open at the bottom. They concern themselves with the "where" only for the grossest topography; the beard is indeed connected with the head and face, and the only thing that matters to them is to show the feature itself. If they take it into their heads to draw the anus, they put it, too, in front, although in this case they must know from experience, which they lack in the case of the beard, that it belongs elsewhere.

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What is missing, what is there, it all depends on interest. The head, the beard, the sexualia are drawn with a will -- let the rest appear wherever it may or be absent altogether. Is not the greatest master of portraiture and the most gifted characterizer of physiognomy accused of neglecting the hands? Opposites attract, Franz Lenbach and the Kulisehu Indians are contemporaries. If the latter or the Bororó take pencil in hand, they give a more or less complete account: their enumeration of the body parts, and whatever interests them, is emphasized, anything that leaves them indifferent at the moment is treated negligently or left out. In the case of animals, the outlines are important; not one of those drawn for us had eyes, with the exception of the fish drawn in the sand, cf. Figs. 34 and 35 /see p. 262/; in the latter case they are probably more likely to come to it because the head, set off only by the gill arch, does not seem sufficiently characterized. The Nahuquá, Kulisehu I, gives the jaguar a lurking position with

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a huge arched back and the long tail, the extremities form a wavy line; the picture was always recognized by others without difficulty as a jaguar. When for all the Bororó animals the faces are simply filled in black, one might attribute this to the drawing style of the sketchers and point out that the rest of the body is treated in the same way, but even the Bakaïrí on the Kulisehu plate I scribbles over the face of his jaguar. The Indian woman, Bororó II, who, of all the figures, shows the best proportions, has a completely scribbled /253/ head. Above the fine beard covering the torso of the center figure at the bottom, Bororo I, eyes, nose, and ears have been forgotten, the legs are stunted into beetle pincers. In none of the five Bakaïrí portraits has the mouth been drawn; none lacks the nose, which the Bakaïrí pierces. On the other hand, for the Bororó, who pierces the lower lip, it cannot happen that he would omit the mouth, whereas he forgot the nose twice.

BO [304]

The profile position, so popular in the art of children, is absent in the Indian drawings of human beings and invariable in the case of four-legged animals. The former is to be regretted, since there can be no comparison with the cases where children give the profile two eyes and then, when they remember that the nose comes between the eyes, sometimes two noses as well, and furthermore where they attach double arms on the exposed side, since two must, of course, be shown, and so forth. It is to be hoped that these efforts of a childlike mind would by this time be impossible for the Indians. Nevertheless, among the sand drawings, we have to show an example that corresponds exactly to childlike art. The matrincham (Fig. 34 /see p. 263/) has two eyes next to the gill arch; the pakú (Fig. 35 /see p. 263/) in profile is likewise drawn with two eyes. That these are profile positions is shown in the case of the matrincham by the indication of the side line, the gill arch (exactly as in the case of the wooden fish), the fin position, and, finally, as also in the case of the pakú, the tail position. In the case of the ray, the two eyes are justified, since the Indian naturally avoids the problem of drawing it from the side.

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*171 532 80 171 532 On the Kulisehu plate II there is a drawing of an arm tattooing which we observed in Cuyabá on a man of the Tupí tribe of the Apiaká /Apiaca/ living on the upper Tapajoz /Tapajós/, and which I add here parenthetically. Here the two legs are on the same side, exactly as in the case of children's drawings of "riders on horseback." The legs of the horse are placed one behind the other, exactly like those of the jaguar, Bororó II. The animal's long ears are handsome.

Why are all human beings drawn en face, all four-footed animals in profile? The reason can only be that in the case of the former the outline was given indifferently as self-evident, and the characterization of the details, to be distributed on two sides or to be judged better in their full extent from the front, was decisive; in the case of the latter, the outline more easily characterized in profile. The monkey on Bororó II, with legs and tail in profile, shows the arms symmetrically, but might have been conceived with the upper part of the body turned forward. The jaguar with the spotted fur was drawn by a man who was obviously aware of the fact that the animal has only two legs on one side: he omitted the legs on the right side.

The proportions are deficient. The pipe and notebook of the principal figure on Bororó were actually in the reverse size-proportions. The artist was in no way disturbed by the fact that the relationship between the torso and the extremities was like that of a lizard propped upright. The disproportion of /254/ the Nahuquá portrait on the Kulisehu plate II is also charming. Whereas the neck often resembles a pole, here, as in the case of Perrot, Kulisehu I, the shoulder line runs across the mouth region. It is five times as wide as the width of the hips, which, in the first version next to it, shrinks to a point. The legs always come out worst of all. In the most extreme deformity, Kulisehu II, bottom left, they are absent, to judge from the position of the sexualia, and the toes are attached to the torso. If only this one portrait was presented, one might explain the long lines on the sides as legs originating at shoulder height, but, strangely enough, in all the Kulisehu portraits, the torso is not closed off at the

/254 cont./

B
* 171 bottom, indeed not even the head in my portrait and Wilhelm's,
532 Kulisehu I! Only the Nahuquá treats the body as a triangle, at
B0 least in his first version. The lateral contours of the torso veer
• 171 out at an angle without converging -- in the case of Wilhelm,
532 Kulisehu I, almost horizontally -- and after extending a short distance, without knee, without foot, are finished off on either side with a little line, and these three-toed chicken legs are then human legs, my legs. "You resemble the spirit you comprehend, not me!" /Translator's note: this is a quotation from Faust./ Besides being short, the legs are usually also unequal, even where the torso is closed off, cf. jolly Wilhelm, Bororó I.

ooo The number of fingers and toes deserves special attention. If one of us who is a hunter should sketch a stag's head, he will be careful to provide it with antlers of a particular shape, whatever he happens to have in his mind's eye. Another person, however, will pay scarcely any attention to whether there are more or fewer prongs, not even if he is superficially copying an original before him; he will be content if he has put on the head a number of prongs in a very questionable arrangement of branches. The only thing is, it will not satisfy his idea of stag antlers to draw two forks, he will put down at least three prongs each. Similarly, if I make a schematic drawing of a little fir tree, my minimum will be three pairs of symmetrical diagonal lines on a vertical line, the whole finished off at the bottom with a horizontal line; two pairs would indeed make a little tree, but not a little fir tree. Thus, even without counting, I will supply a minimum of components, in accordance with my inner perception. Our children, who are drilled early in the five of the fingers, will take it into account even in drawings which otherwise contain the grossest sins, and even before they think of reproducing the hand, they will correctly draw five fingers. In the case of the drawings of primitive peoples, we encounter an uncertainty about the number of fingers, and especially three fingers, with such regularity that we must recognize a law here, as in the case of the stag antlers and the fir tree. They undoubtedly did not count 1, 2, 3, and the only thing that can be at the basis of it is that

/254 cont./

000 they feel impelled to put in more than two lines, in order to define their vague inner conception at least to the extent that a bifurcation does not result.

B /255/ If we consider the five Bakaïrí portraits, we have, if
#171 we put the number of fingers in the numerator and the number of
532 toes in the denominator, the following relationships: $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 3}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{5\ 5}{3\ 3}$, $\frac{3\ 3}{3\ 3}$ (Kulisehu I) and $\frac{4\ 5}{3\ 4}$ (Kulisehu II). I had them show me on my hand which fingers they had drawn; they took hold of my thumb, little finger, and middle finger and pointed to the corresponding lines in such a way that the little finger was the one in the center of the three which, in my portrait, happened to be the longest in the group of four. Ehrenreich is provided with two five-fingered arms, Wilhelm at least with one such arm. The lower extremities have three toes, with the exception of my portrait, Kulisehu II, where four are present on one side. On the same plate, the Nahuquá, after his first effort had been criticized, drew the correct number of fingers in the second, not from memory, to be sure, but with careful contemplation of the insulted original.

80 Among the Bororó we find on plate I, aside from the arm-
●171 less portrait of me, Wilhelm with five fingers on each arm, the
532 soldier with three on each arm, and similarly on plate II the Indian woman with three fingers. As for the rest, there is great progress to be seen here. Not only elbows and knee-joints appear in the form of thick knots, but also hands and feet. In the classic picture showing me with pipe and notebook, touching care has been devoted to the left thumb, which has been joined to the hand in a thick mass; on the right hand we note, to our surprise, seven fingers, but find a perfect explanation in the fact that the two extra fingers must grasp the little book; the legs are standing on shoes, as are Wilhelm's below. The soldier has been planted in the ground, with two lines for legs. The center figure next to him has most peculiar hands and feet, but at least it has some; they are extraordinarily reminiscent of the blood-sucking ticks. One also notes here a tendency to give the

/255 cont./

BO *171 532 extremities a second dimension. The feet of the Indian woman, Bororó II, an amusing contrast to the absent hands, are drawn in excellent outline and in good horizontal position; one might take them for shoes if three toes, not unlike short hairs, were not planted in them.

Of the animal pictures, only among the Bororó do the tapir and monkey have jointed feet. The jaguar legs end in round knobs -- cat paws. The tail is always featured; only in the case of the spotted jaguar may one reasonably wonder about the bushy stump. In the case of the flying hummingbird, whose legs are missing and indeed may be missing, we see a long and divided tail, such as more commonly occurs for this species.

B *171 532 Bark drawings. Rather seldom, except among the Nahuquá, where they were numerous, were human figures found carved in trees, that is to say, incised in outline or with the surface peeled out of the bark, along the forest path leading from the river to the village. They were, as far as /256/ /Figs. 37 and 38 appear here/ I remember, exclusively men in 1887; in 1884, however, we found a male figure above a female one in front of the first Batovy village of the Bakaïrí and a female figure in front of the second one, "with roguish utilization of a depression present in the bark." In the accompanying bark figure of the Bakaïrí /see p. 279/, a great advance has been made by means of the surface cutting in comparison with the line drawings. Where the fingers were clearly worked out, they corresponded exactly to the three of the pencil drawings; the toes, on the other hand, were never treated more accurately. The legs ran down shapelessly, like stockings. We were particularly struck by the tree figures along the forest path of the Nahuquá; they had formations resembling donkey ears, but somewhat longer, on either side of the head, which represented ear feathers. There was also one or another animal figure. If I add to this the fact that there were human figures carved on the huge hollow drum-tree lying in front of the festival hut of the third Bakaïrí village, there follows the noteworthy fact that the use of the human figure in the art of drawing was present only on trees. The pencil drawings were done at my request.

B [534]

Bororo SP8
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/327 cont./

WY 171 534

two whizzer sticks are 34 and 36 centimeters long; they have the shape of fish, which is suitable for the purpose, since part of the three-meter long rope is wound around the construction at the tail end. We had just as little difficulty obtaining the whizzer sticks as we did concerning the masks. The Nahuquá showed us how they were used on the village plaza in all candor, like any implement and without driving away the women. This is very interesting, since the whizzer stick, which in our civilized countries today is merely a child's toy, had or still has great significance in the religious mysteries among the most diverse peoples of the world. We shall come across it again among the Bororó, and, to be sure, with a mysterious meaning which is absent on the Kulisehu, and shall therefore discuss it more fully there.

BO [171] [534]

The Nahuquá and the Mehinakú have the same word for the whizzer stick, the former calling it matápu, the latter matáhu. Among the Auetö, Kamayurá, and /328/ Trumaí we did not see the implement.

Fig. 121. Whizzer stick. Mehinakú. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

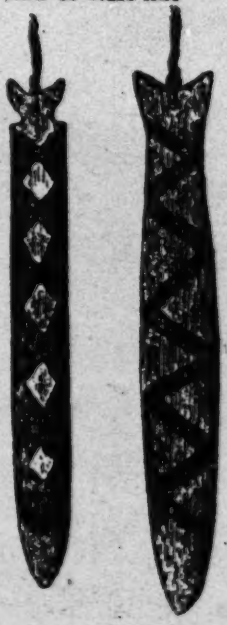

Fig. 122. Whizzer sticks (fish form). Nahuquá. (1/4-1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/479 cont./

237 30 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

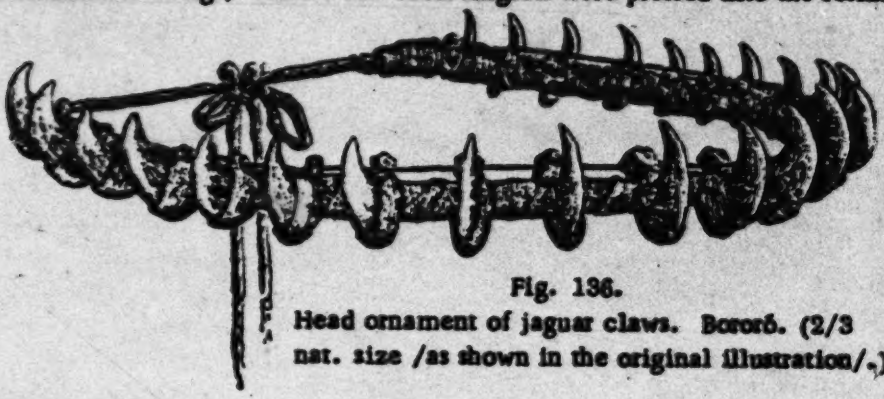

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
●171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
261 out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/486 cont./

411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick ubá reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle [171] finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the [571] position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our 461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

/490 cont./

262 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set).
615 "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their
252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything
262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers.
232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó
[264] from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá
[171] /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on scant hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in
[252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob-
[262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about
[554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari.
[575] The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be
external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with
the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put
herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute
house of the men. The statement that "the women would die"
may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm
was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer
sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye
were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain
amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and
arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them
turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of
aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear any-
thing about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death.
We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular
teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for
the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the
forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our
room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door
and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and
finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully
conceal them, women and children would die if they caught
sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men --
the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri --
should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would
beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and,
before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk
where it was deepest.

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold; cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us [171] from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

/504 cont./

764 "The departed remains on his deathbed untouched for three days until decomposition is already far advanced and there is a disagreeable, nauseating odor; on the third day the corpse is wrapped in skins, mats, and green leaves, laid in the pit, and this again covered with earth, palm leaves, and mats.

"The burial place is in the center of the village and is kept very clean; it had the appearance of a European cemetery."

765 174 114 In this valuable account one point must be discussed in more detail. Waehneldt, with his short visit in the Mato Grosso, regards the Bororó as ancient inhabitants of the region and believes, since he saw burial in urns, that urns, too, which are found "in abundance in old habitations now forsaken, largely filled with bones," originated among the ancestors of the Bororó. His Bororó, however, are the ones who were settled here by the fazendeiro Leite after long struggles; there are many old urn-cemeteries of the same type in the vicinity of Villa Maria; they have nothing to do with the modern Bororó and 765 are yet to be investigated. Waehneldt himself says that he only 174 "came across a few pots of clay which were made by them and [323] in addition several larger vessels for storing various objects, which were heirlooms from the ancestors because they are no longer made today." Either the Bororó had taken such urns as models and replaced their bone-baskets -- a /illustration appears here/ /505/ first step toward the urn -- with them, or, what I consider more likely in view of their acknowledged inferior performance in ceramics, which corresponds exactly to our Bororó, and the statement that old urns were used for other things, they buried their dead in the old urns which are to be found in such numbers and in part empty at the old dwelling sites now abandoned. The original custom of the Bororó is the same 765 as that of Humboldt's Aturen /Ature/, of whom the traveler ● 171 found only remnants in the form of 600 well-preserved skeletons colored red with urucú and packed in baskets of palm-leaf ribs as in a square bag, and of whose language only an old parrot of the nearby mission was still able to prattle a few words. The Aturen also, in accordance with tradition, had first laid their corpses in the earth for a time, let the flesh decompose, and

[Text Continues on p. 634]

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
● 171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[168] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/511 cont./

794 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one
828 doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 Ideas about death and the existence after death differ
795 essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the
● [191] medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living.
[191] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
●[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original
[761] vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

2: Steinen--653 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi

Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

I. Word List
of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakú, 4. Kustenaú, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumaí, 10. Paressí, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayura/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and the Karaiben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.
y as in York.
v German w.
ɣ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.
š French ch.
ś French c.
ž French z.

/524/

đ English th.